This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

**Usage guidelines**

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

**About Google Book Search**

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

905
H484
NO.38

905 .H484 NO.38 C.1
The Turkish restoratio
Stanford University Libraries
3 6105 048 540 830

STANFORD
LIBRARIES

MILLER
THE TURKISH RES-
TORATION IN GREECE

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

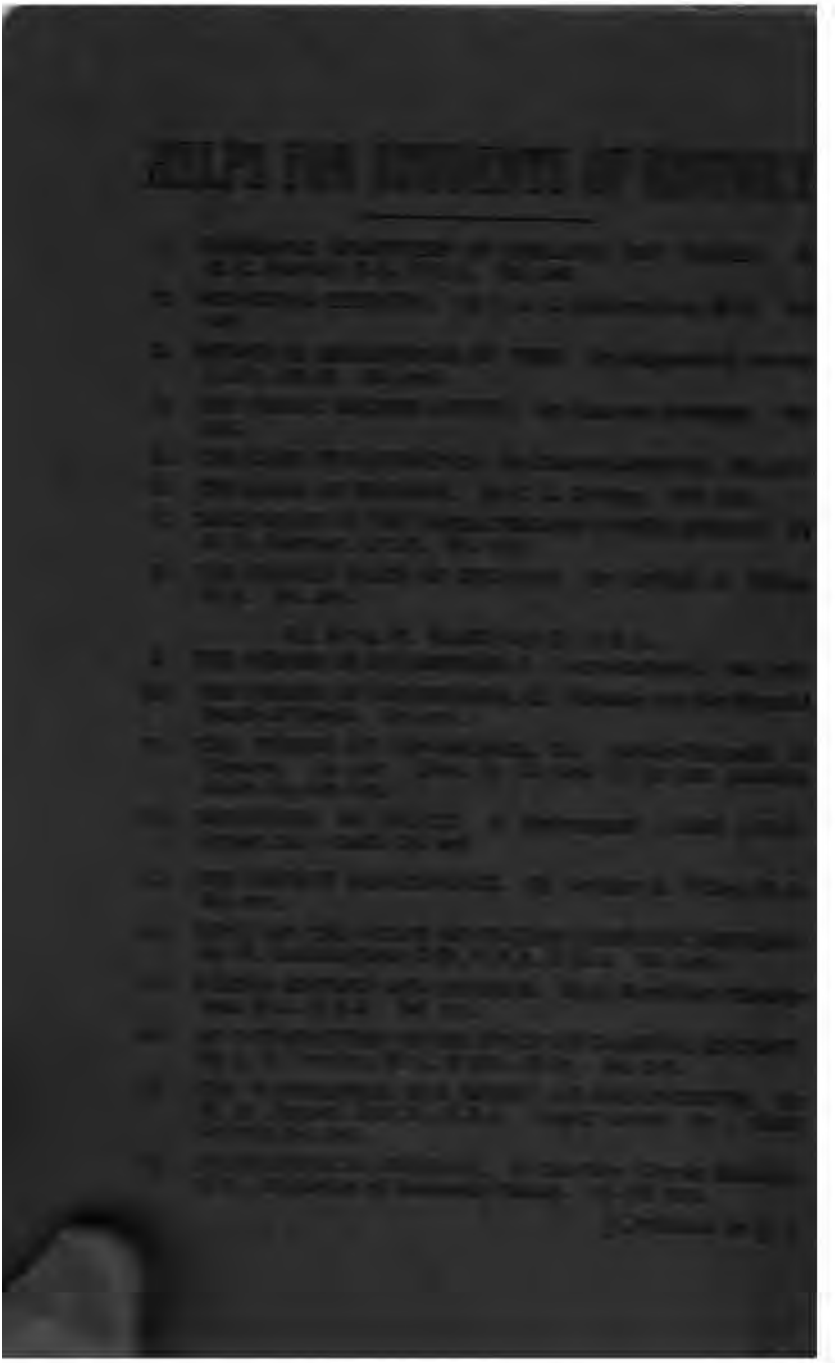
905
H 464
No. 38

# HELPS·FOR STUDENTS OF·HISTORY·

THE
TURKISH RESTORATION
IN GREECE, 1718-1797

WILLIAM MILLER

NO. 38.



# THE TURKISH RESTORATION IN GREECE, 1718–1797

HELPS FOR STUDENTS OF HISTORY. No. 38

EDITED BY C. JOHNSON, M.A., H. W. V. TEMPERLEY, M.A., AND J. P. WHITNEY, D.D., D.C.L.

# THE TURKISH RESTORATION IN GREECE, 1718-1797

BY

WILLIAM MILLER, M.A.

HON. LL.D. IN THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF GREECE

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF GREECE

AUTHOR OF "THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, 1801-1913"

LONDON

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE

NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1921

# THE TURKISH RESTORATION IN GREECE, 1718-1797

FROM the Peace of Passarovitz to the Russian invasion of the Morea in 1770 Greece enjoyed fully half a century of peace. Venice never again attacked Turkey, and Greece was too far off to be affected by the contests between the Turks and the Austrians and Russians. Two mild Sultans, Ahmed III. and Mahmûd I., ruled the Turkish Empire, and the Greek element in the Turkish administration was increasingly important. Greeks sat upon the Wallachian and Moldavian thrones, Greeks held the posts of Dragoman of the Porte and of the Fleet, and it had become politic to treat the Greek population better.

The Athenian teacher Joannes Benizelos has left us an account[1] of Athens at this period. "Athens," he wrote, "even under the Ottoman

[1] First published in 1815 by Perraivos in his *History of Souli and Parga*, and first ascribed to Joannes Benizelos (*fl.* 1774) by Sourmeles (Κατάστασις συνοπτικὴ τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν, ed. 8, p. 72), who is followed by Philadelpheus, Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ii., 255 *sqq.*

yoke, was nevertheless in a good condition, and could be cited as an example to the other cities of Greece." He ascribes its good fortune to the "species of aristocracy," composed of the leading Greek families, which governed it. They met every day for the transaction of public business in the council chamber and every Monday at the Metropolitan's palace to decide cases with the Metropolitan. Every Friday they paid courtesy visits to the Turkish authorities, the *voivode* and the *cadi;* whenever political circumstances so required or Greeks had been imprisoned, they sent two younger men as "agents of the community" (*ἐπίτροποι*); but in more important cases, or if justice were denied, they went in a body to the *voivode,* who was "bound to treat them well and follow their opinion," otherwise he was liable to be turned out before the end of his annual term of office. They enjoyed the respect of their compatriots on account of their age and wisdom, and they merited it by their paternal government and pure and economical administration of the public money. "All trade was in the hands of the Greeks, for the Turks had neither capacity for nor knowledge of business, and owing to their small numbers and poverty were humbled and subordinate to the natives." The only tax paid to the central Government was the *haratch;* the only local rates were the so-called "salt-tax"

(ἁλατζάτικον), consisting of one piastre a year paid by householders (one-half, if they were widows), and a water-rate for the olives and gardens.[1] Thus, Athens was mildly governed, lightly taxed, and locally autonomous. Foreign consuls afforded the Greeks protection, the chief of the black eunuchs continued to appoint the governor, and it fortunately happened that the same individual, who tempered his love of money with humanity and justice, presided over the harem for thirty years. Moreover, the appointment of two Athenians as successive Patriarchs of Jerusalem gave their fellow-citizens an advocate at Constantinople, where the Patriarch often resided. Under these circumstances there was security for life and property. When the Abbé Fourmont visited Athens in 1726, much building was going on, and about that time the Metropolitan restored Great St. Mary's, which had been damaged by Morosini's bombardment and was destroyed by the archæologists in the last century.

A general uprising of both the local Greeks and the local Turks interrupted the quiet of Athenian history about the middle of the century. The new chief of the black eunuchs was so rapacious that he was executed by order of the Sultan, and when the news reached Athens in 1752 his nominee, the *voivode* Hassan Aga (whose portrait and

[1] *Ib.*, ii., 275-277.

prowess as an archer have been preserved by a sketch in Stuart and Revett's great work *The Antiquities of Athens*), at once fled. The arrival of an official to enquire into abuses and punish their authors increased the ferment, and the two British architects were advised to leave. After their return in the summer of 1753 fresh disturbances broke out, in consequence of the exactions of the new *voivode*, Sari Mouselimi; when a deputation of notables waited upon him to remonstrate he had some of them killed on the spot. The populace retaliated by setting fire to his residence after many had been killed on both sides, including the governor's secretary; but the *voivode* cut his way through them, sabre in hand, and took refuge in the Akropolis, where he was besieged and suffered severely from the lack of water. This insurrection, however, cost the Greeks a fine of over 800 purses,[1] besides other exactions by the Pasha of Negroponte, who imprisoned their Metropolitan and made him pay a heavy ransom. His prisoner, however, managed to obtain an order from the Sultan, forbidding the Pasha to enter Athens in future. These events were followed, in 1759, by the vandalism of the new *voivode*, a Mussulman of Athens, who, in order to build a fifth mosque for his native city, that now used as a military store, took a quantity of marble

[1] Benizelos and the *Diary* of Kalephornas, *ib.*, ii., 277, 318.

from the old palace of the Metropolitan beneath the Areopagus which had been destroyed by an earthquake in 1694, and blew up a pillar of the temple of Olympian Zeus, the "Palace of Hadrian," as it was still vulgarly called. An inscription scratched on one of the other columns preserves the exact date,[1] and the *voivode* had cause to remember it, for the ever-watchful Pasha of Negroponte, who was always seeking to interfere in Athenian affairs, threatened to denounce him to the Government for destroying the Sultan's property unless he paid 15 purses as blackmail.

The year 1760 marked a change in the government of Athens, which was then transferred from the jurisdiction of the black eunuch to the Sultan's privy purse. Athens thus became a *malikyané*, or "manor, of which the tithes were paid to the lord," and which the Sultan sold to the highest bidder for his life, and the purchaser appointed the *voivode*. This apparently more dignified situation was really detrimental, because the eunuch was only one person to propitiate, while many pashas had to receive fees under the new system. The first purchaser, a local Moslem of Levadeia, however, appointed a *voivode* so popular that he was called "the Good." But Athens about this time was

[1] Benizelos, *ib.*, ii., 278; Kampouroglos, *Μνημεῖα τῆς Ἱστορίας τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, i., 192.

cursed with a new Metropolitan, who had paid very highly for the see and sought to recoup himself at the expense of his flock. The latter made common cause with the *voivode* against the Metropolitan, who was temporarily expelled. So evil was his reputation that a story was invented accusing him of having contrived the murder of the Patriarch of Jerusalem while his guest in the Metropolitan's palace at Athens. This building, after the destruction of the old residence beneath the Areopagus, had been re-erected near the present metropolitan church and was subsequently embellished by this intriguing prelate, Bartholomew, as an inscription informs us.

About the middle of the century travellers again visited Athens. In 1751 Stuart and Revett[1] were sent there by the English Society of Dilettanti, remaining there on and off for over two years; in 1765 Chandler spent some time in the city. Unlike some archæologists, they studied the contemporary conditions, as well as the monuments of the town, and we are able from their pages to form a picture of Athenian life at this period. Athens then contained about 10,000 inhabitants, of whom four-fifths were Christians; but the Turks, though few, were sufficient to keep the Christians fully sensible

[1] *Antiquities of Athens*, i., 3-5; Philadelpheus, ii., 96; Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece* (ed. 1825), ii., 95, 175.

of their mastery; several of the Turkish families dated from the conquest. Of all peoples subject to the Turks the Athenians perhaps preserved the greatest vivacity, genius, and civilization. Although long oppressed, they still showed much courage, and especial cleverness in opposing the vexations of an avaricious or cruel governor. They lacked neither orators nor clever politicians, who met in a café near the bazaar to discuss the news of the day. Some of the priests were cultured and excellent preachers, notably the Abbot of Kaisariané. Athens possessed two or three painters, more conspicuous, however, for natural ability than scientific training. The Athenians loved music and played the mandolin to the accompaniment of songs, which they often improvised. Men and women alike were well made, and the women had a particular elegance of form; they were clever at embroidery and excellent needlewomen, but a woman who could read and write was regarded as a prodigy; and from their lack of education and the Oriental seclusion in which they were kept (for the unmarried even wore veils, and no Greek maiden was ever seen), society seemed dull to "Europeans." The Athenian Greeks were crafty, subtle, and acute; no Jew, it was said, could live among them; they were restless people, and private animosities and cliques divided their community. The Turks were politer and more

sociable than usual, "living on more equal terms with their fellow-citizens, and partaking in some degree of the Greek character." Many of them drank wine. They were honourable and upright, but narrow-minded and avaricious. In 1765 there were eight or ten archontic families, mostly decaying, so that it was quite usual for *archontes* to keep shops or farm the revenues. They were distinguished from their fellows by their tall fur caps and priestlike robes,[1] whereas the ordinary Athenian wore a red skull-cap, a jacket, a sash, loose breeches tied by a knot, and a long vest. The climate was healthy; plagues were rare; as both Greeks and Turks neglected agriculture, that and pasture were given over to the Albanians, but the place manufactured leather and soap, and produced grain, oil, honey, wax, resin, a little silk, cheese, and valonia. Its export trade was to Constantinople and France, and eight French ships yearly visited the Piræus, still called after its lost Lion, and consisting of only "a mean custom-house with a few sheds, a warehouse belonging to the French," and the monastery of St. Spiridon. There were French and British consuls; Stuart praises the hospitality of the former, a Frenchman named Loeson, who had endowed Athens with a fountain, but knocked down the latter, a Greek of the family of Logothetes,

[1] Portrait in Kampouroglos, *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, iii., 12.

as in Elgin's time.[1] For a time, the Government forbade Athenians to become consuls of foreign Powers; but for many years we find a Gaspari, great-grandson of one of the Athenian envoys to Morosini, representing France, which possessed a French resident merchant, the agent of the Nauplian, Keyrac, whose family subsequently settled in Athens. Another foreigner, but of disreputable character and mixed up in all the local intrigues, was the adventurer Lombardi, according to some an Italian, according to others a Turk. His numerous enemies described him as an ex-priest, who had committed robbery and levanted—a theory supported by a book, published by him in Italian and widely circulated in a Greek version under the title of *Truth the Judge*. This treatise, professedly the work of an ex-Jesuit converted to Greek Orthodoxy, pretended to defend the Orthodox Church, but was really a lampoon upon Christianity. The Turks regarded him with favour as a dervish—the "Tower of the Winds" was then a *tekkeh* of dancing dervishes and the *mihrab* and Turkish letters may still be seen there, while they had another *tekkeh* in the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, where Turks were executed. He forced himself as a dragoman upon Chandler, and after acting as false witness against the Metropolitan Bartholomew, whom he accused of being in league

[1] Kampouroglos, Μνημεῖα, i., 257.

with the Knights of Malta, he ended his adventurous career on the gallows.[1]

Chandler describes the Turkish government as "a milder tyranny." The few Turkish officials remained the same, consisting of the *voivode*, the *cadi*, the *mufti*, and the governor of the castle. The *voivode* was changed annually at the beginning of March: "he brings the cranes with him," the Athenians used to say of a new governor. That officer, who had purchased his post, required "circumspection and moderation in exacting the revenue," and "the usual concomitants of his station" were "uneasiness, apprehension, and danger." He had only a small garrison in the Akropolis, the walls of which had lately been repaired, to support him; the soldiers resided there with their families, but the lack of water and the difficulty of transporting provisions made the classic rock an uncomfortable station. The favourite sport of the Turks was *girid*, or stick-throwing on horseback, and the ground where this game took place was called, after that amusement, *tzirîti*. Among the Greeks there was some intellectual life (although their reading consisted mostly of legends of the saints and they were very superstitious), for Dekas, an Athenian settled in Venice, had recently founded a second school there in the street that still bears his name,

[1] Benizelos, *op. cit.*, ii., 279; Chandler, ii., 31, 174-177.

and endowed it with an annual sum and a small library. There were several public baths, but the streets were very irregular and the houses "mostly mean and straggling." Already Kephisia had become a summer resort of the Turks. Such was the state of Athens on the eve of the Russian intervention in the Morea.

Anxious to ingratiate the Moreotes, the reinstalled Turkish administration exempted them for two years from the land-tax, and extended this concession to three in the case of immigrants, whom it was anxious to attract. In Chios, on the other hand, after the Venetian attack, the Turks somewhat diminished the local privileges and increased the taxation, changing the name of the five local representatives (three Greeks and two Latins) from *deputati* to the more usual form *demogérontes*, and in 1718 carrying them off in chains to Constantinople.[1] That prosperous island, however, except for that incident and another in 1770, was in the fortunate position of having no history from the end of the seventeenth century to the War of Independence. Thus, undisturbed and practically self-governing—for the biennially appointed Turkish governor, the judge, and the twenty Turkish soldiers had little real power—Chios formed a commercial aristocracy. No one could visit the governor without permission

[1] Vlastos, Χιακά, ii., 119, 152.

of the "elders," but their authority was limited by the brevity of their office—one year—and by the fact that no one wished to serve twice. As one of their duties was to act as food commissioners, their office, if honourable, was onerous, although they had the assistance of a great and a small council of notables in difficult questions. Thanks to their industry and commercial abilities, the Chiotes spread wherever money was to be made; but the Catholic exiles, who had emigrated to the Morea, did not return to their native island, but received from Venice a new home in the islet of Meganesi. A firman of Osman III. in 1755 exempted the twenty-one mastic villages from the ordinary taxes, except the capitation-tax and the corn-duty, on condition that they furnished annually 20,020 okes of mastic, about four times the amount demanded from them fifteen years earlier. Another firman of the same year declared Rhodes, Kos, and the smaller Southern Sporades dependent upon them "free from all points of view after paying a fixed sum"—a privilege repeated in 1774 in a firman of Abdul Hamid I.[1] Similar arrangements existed at Santorin and the other Cyclades, where the taxes were the *haratch* and a tithe to the *voivode*. Except, therefore, for the presence of Turkish judges, who were useful in

[1] Stéphanopoli, *Les Îles de l'Égée: leurs privilèges*, 164-167, 173-176; Pococke, *Description of the East*, 2; Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστ. καὶ Ἐθν. Ἑταιρίας, vi., 321–350.

settling the violent disputes between the Catholics and the Orthodox, the Ægean enjoyed practical self-government. But the fear of exciting the cupidity of their masters prevented the islanders from developing the mineral resources of Naxos and Melos and from growing mastic on Delos.

Northern Greece was less favourably treated, for there the local beys were more powerful than the central administration, and the peasants had to propitiate them with annual offerings of sheep, poultry, eggs, and butter. Conversions to Islam diminished the numbers of the Christians in Epeiros, where Ali of Tepeleni, the future Pasha of Joannina, was beginning to make himself known, while Albanian raids devastated Thessaly. Joannina was, however, already renowned for its educational advantages; it then possessed three schools, in one of which Eugenios Boulgaris taught, and which diffused Greek teachers throughout Greek lands, so that it could be said that "to Joannina Greece owes the resurrection of education," and that "in the eighteenth century all Greek authors were either natives of Joannina or pupils of the Joannina school." The custom of wearing masks at carnival there was supposed to have come down from the times of the Italian Despots of Epeiros.[1] Delvinon also possessed a Greek school.

[1] Aravantinos, *Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπείρου*, ii., 256, 281

Venice had long been noted for its Greek colony; the other great Adriatic city of Trieste, after it was declared a free port in 1717, gradually began to attract Greeks. We hear of a Greek consul there in 1723, and a Greek church was opened in 1758, while after the Russian invasion of the Morea many Moreote families flocked thither.[1] In the time of Peter the Great, who had distributed proclamations and portraits of himself with the inscription "Emperor of the Russo-Greeks" to the Christians of Turkey, a Russian propaganda had begun, but it was not till the reign of Catherine II. that a serious attempt was made to make Greece rise in the interests of Russia. When Chandler was at Athens, the appearance of a cruciform light over Sta. Sophia had created the impression that the liberation of Constantinople was at hand. In 1766 George Papazoles,[2] a Macedonian adventurer who had become a captain in the Russian artillery, encouraged by the Greeks of Trieste, landed in Maina in 1766 as a Russian agent, and distributed a Greek translation of the Russian rules of military science. But the Mainate chiefs, prominent among them the brothers Mavromichalai[3] (whose family, first mentioned in a Venetian report of 1690, now first appears in

[1] Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστ. καὶ Ἐθν. Ἑτ., v., 370-376.

[2] Sathas (*Τουρκοκρατουμένη* Ἑλλας, 452 *n.*) has restored his real name.

[3] Zesiou, *Οἱ Μαυρομιχάλαι*, i., 18.

history), plainly told him that the Mainates, divided by tribal and personal feuds, were not strong enough to stand alone against the Turks: if Russia wished them to rise, she must send a force to help them. The wealthy notable of Kalamata, Benakes, a grandson of the "Prince of Maina," Gerakares, who had played so double a part in the Turco-Venetian War, was, however, flattered by his overtures, and an agreement was signed between them promising the rising of 100,000 Greeks, as soon as a Russian squadron appeared. Another Russian agent traversed the Morea and took back with him a plan of the country. The Greeks were, however, reported to be suspicious of the Empress's benevolent intentions, although an occasional enthusiast was rash enough to express his enthusiasm, for which, like the Metropolitan of Sparta, he paid with his head. Others escaped by emigration from Maina to Florida.

Accordingly, when the Russo-Turkish War broke out in 1768, Alexis and Feodor Orloff, brothers of the Empress's favourite, Gregory, proceeded to Venice to organize the Greek insurrection. Alexis had first conceived the idea of conquering Greece from the suggestion of a Venetian noble; Feodor was an enthusiastic philhellene, who expected to find the heroes of Plutarch by the banks of the Eurotas; Gregory perhaps hoped that he might

become the *Hospodar* of a Russianized Morea. Indeed, an enthusiastic Greek printer saw the realization of Plato's ideal in the submission of Greece to the sway of "the philosophic Empress." Greek merchants in Italy contributed large sums to the enterprise: as usual, it rained Russian decorations. Such was the excitement of the Greek colony in Venice that the Republic, anxious to preserve its neutrality, requested the Orloffs to leave. Great Britain, at that time Russophil, allowed the Russian squadron to enter her harbours, and declared that any act of hostility towards it by France would be considered as hostile to herself; two British admirals, Greig and Elphinstone, held commands in this small and unseamanlike fleet, while a Greek captain, Psaros of Mykonos, placed his local knowledge at the disposal of the Russian admiral, Spiritoff. The fleet was divided into two divisions; the first, under Feodor Orloff, with only 500 troops—Russians, Montenegrins, and Epeirotes—arrived at Port Vitylo in Maina at the end of February, 1770, only to find the Mainates anxious about their prized autonomy and disposed to regard as a forgery the agreement between Papazoles and Benakes. A fresh agreement was therefore drawn up; two "Spartan legions," "the eastern" and "the western," were formed; the former under Psaros took and plundered Mistrâ, where he organized a

local government; the latter occupied Kalamata. These easy successes, exaggerated by rumour, caused a general insurrection. By clothing Greeks in Russian uniforms the 500 Russians were magnified into an army corps; Crete rose, and Moreote exiles in the Ionian Islands were told by Russian agents that they had only to show their title-deeds to recover their property, and that, if they helped, they would receive that of the Turks as well. On these conditions the Zantiotes hastened to occupy Elis and the Cephalonians besieged Patras. Another provisional government was formed at Mesolonghi, and a mulatto general, boasting the name of Hannibal, took Navarino. But Coron and Modon held out, while the Turks defeated Psaros before Tripolitsa, then the seat of the Turkish governor, and slaughtered 8,000 of the Greek inhabitants in revenge for the destruction of their coreligionists at Mistrâ. Further massacres of Greeks ensued—at Lemnos, Smyrna, and above all at Trikkala and Larissa, where the only church was destroyed. "Behold the blessings," wrote a Greek historian, "which the Greek race reaped from the alliance of the Peloponnesians with Orloff."

But there was worse to come. Albanian bands ravaged Continental Greece; Mesolonghi was abandoned; "the bones of the brothers Grivas" still mark the spot where the chiefs of that famous

Akarnanian clan fell fighting, and an inscription on a column of the Theseion commemorates an Albanian raid near Thebes.[1] Joannes Mavromichales, nicknamed "the Dog" from his bull-dog courage, held out in a house at Nesi in Messenia for three days against a Turco-Albanian army and perished with his son. The siege of Modon was raised, whereupon Alexis Orloff, despite the appeals of Papazoles and Benakes, abandoned to their fate the unhappy Greeks whom he had deceived, and on June 1 sailed from Navarino with those two agents, the leading notables, and four bishops, to join the second Russian division under Elphinstone, who was seeking the Turkish fleet in the Ægean. Thus ignominiously ended the three months' Russian campaign in the Morea. The only illuminating exploit of the expedition was the destruction of the Turkish fleet at the sulphur "springs" of Tchesmé opposite Chios, largely owing to the bravery and skill of the British officers, who commanded two of the Russian fire-ships. The Turkish fleet being destroyed, Elphinstone and the British urged Alexis Orloff, who was Commander-in-Chief, to force the Dardanelles at once and dictate terms at Constantinople. The Russians, however, considered the venture too risky, ten days were wasted, and finally a compromise was made, by which the fleet was to

[1] Δελτίον, ii., 22.

occupy Lemnos and thence blockade the Dardanelles. This gave the Turks time to recover from their panic, and Baron de Tott, a French agent, time to fortify the Dardanelles. Elphinstone went home in disgust; the "old castle" of Lemnos held out for three months until, when it had already hoisted the white flag, it was relieved by the Turks, under a daring sailor Djezaerli-Hassan, or Hassan "of the Archipelago." Thereupon Alexis Orloff left for Italy, and Spiritoff for the harbour of Naousa in Paros, leaving the Turks to wreak their vengeance upon the Lemnians.[1]

The Athenians had hitherto shown no desire to take part in the insurrection. But the Turks took the precaution of making them sleep on the Akropolis, in order to prevent any communication with the enemy under cover of night. A Russian ship's captain, married to the sister of the Athenian notable Logothetes, had tried, indeed, to provoke a rising by entering the Piræus with a man-of-war as the forerunner of the Russian fleet. The Turks fled to the Akropolis, the guns of which were in such a neglected condition that the "castle" could not have held out, but what the Christians feared was a massacre. The danger of this was promptly represented to the Russian by Keyrac, the French merchant, who then lived at the

[1] Moschides, Ἡ Λῆμνος, i., 198-203.

Piræus, and who, by telling him that his wife's brother would be the first victim, induced him to leave the same night. But the Battle of Tchesmé excited the Athenian youth, and when at the beginning of the next year, the chieftain Metromaras, who had routed the Albanians and burned Megara, hoisted the Russian flag on Salamis, not a few of them joined him, against the advice of the older men. The proximity of Salamis, whence Metromaras made raids on the mainland, was found dangerous to the Athenians. When the Salaminians carried off a Turkish tax-collector near Athens, a massacre was openly threatened in the Athenian *cafés*, and only prevented by the kind old *mufti* and the humane *voivode*. Then two rival Albanian leaders fought over Athens at the Monastery of the Angels on the road to Marathon. The Athenians were accused, too, of feeding the Salaminian insurgents, and 500 men were sent with orders from the Sultan to destroy them. The self-interest of Ismail Aga, then lessee of the *malikyané*, saved the city; he obtained a counter-order, but only just in time, for the executioners had already reached Menidi, the ancient Acharnai, when this second firman stopped them. As it was, they entered the city and made the notables pay a ransom of 80 purses. This state of uncertainty continued till Metromaras was killed in 1772, when his followers were hanged

pon sharp hooks until they died.[1] Daskaogiannes, the leader of the Sphakiote insurrection, was flayed alive, that warlike Cretan district avaged with fire and sword, and its inhabitants ompelled to pay the capitation-tax.

Meanwhile, the Russian fleet, after wintering in Paros, captured seventeen other islands of the Cyclades in 1771. Pasch di Krienen, who was serving as a volunteer with the Russians, has given us a "brief description"[2] of "the eighteen occupied islands" at that period. Each island was governed, by orders of Spiritoff, by local officials, called *sindaci* and a chancellor, elected by the inhabitants. These *sindaci* varied according to the size of the island, Tenos having nine, Andros eight, and Antiparos one. The islanders were not, however, content with their local representatives, and at Siphanto rose against them. They had to swear allegiance to Catherine II., and Psaros of Mykonos was appointed Inspector of the Archipelago.[3] But at the same time his fellow-islanders thought it prudent to send a secret agent to assure the Turks of their real sentiments, in case of a Turkish restoration.[4]

The Cyclades were at this time much depopulated, owing to corsairs and emigration, and in some

[1] Benizelos, *op. cit.*, ii., 280-284.

[2] *Breve descrizione dell' Arcipelago e particolarmente delle diciotto isole sottomesse l'anno* 1771 *al dominio russo.*

[3] Sathas, 517-519. [4] Blancard, *Les Mavroyéni*, i., 64, 648.

islands, notably Siphanto and Mykonos, the fen
population was consequently far in excess of
male; to this was attributed the efforts of
ladies of Mykonos to make themselves as charm
as possible to the few eligible men. Naxos a
Andros had the largest population, and the pa
for politeness was awarded to the families of
old town of Naxos. Only 800 Latins survived
the capital of the medieval Latin duchy, but amc
them were many names of the feudal famil
which had once held sway there. Syra, where
were Catholics, was then a place of small i
portance—its time was to come fifty years lat
Tenos was the most cultivated of the island
but the Venetians, who had left their mark the
during their long occupation, had burned all t
olive-trees of Paros during the Candian Wa
The islands, it was calculated, could be made f
more productive, and could support a far larg
population, under a good Government. Still, the
was sufficient commerce for the French to kee
several consuls in the islands, and the four years
Russian occupation benefited them materially
for the Russians repaired the conduits and roads a
Naousa and raised the price of Naxian oranges
lemons, and poultry. "General ignorance" pre-
vailed. The character of the islanders struck the
northern visitor as insincere; the people of Thermia
were particularly astute.

Except for the bombardment of Beyrout, the Russian fleet remained inactive until the Treaty of Kutchuk Kaïnardji ended the war in 1774. Article 17 of that treaty restored the Cyclades to Turkey, which promised to forget all accusations and suspicions formed against its subjects, to abstain from persecuting their religion, to allow them to repair and rebuild their churches, to exact no compensation for damages suffered during the war, within the next two years, and to permit those families which wished to leave their country to have a year within which to put their affairs in order, and to carry away with them all their property. Another article provided for a general amnesty. But it was later that the political effects of this celebrated treaty were felt; for the moment, save for paper guarantees, the Russians left the Greeks to their fate; but the latter found a saviour in Djezaerli-Hassan, a Persian slave, who had been in the service of the Dey of Algiers, but whose recapture of Lemnos had gained him the post of capitan-pasha. Hassan prevented a general massacre by asking its advocates who would pay the capitation-tax if all the Greeks were murdered. To the islanders, who had submitted to Russian rule, he showed mercy and forgiveness, partly from policy and partly from the influence of the dragoman of the fleet, Nicholas Mavrogenes, a native of Paros. This islander, who claimed descent

from the Morosini and figures prominently in the curious romance of Thomas Hope, *Anastasius*,[1] which covers the period between 1779 and 1797, persuaded Hassan to pardon even the people of Psara, whose flotilla had raided the coast-towns during the war.

But the Turkish admiral and his Greek dragoman rendered even greater services to the Moreotes. For nine years Albanian bands had ravaged the Morea, levying blackmail upon the wealthy and selling the poor into slavery, while the Turkish Government was unable to control or expel them, till, in 1779, Hassan was sent with full powers to restore order. That resolute commander defeated the Albanians in the plain of Tripolitsa, and erected there a pyramid of 4,000 heads as a trophy and a warning. He next turned his attention to the Mainates. In 1776 he had separated them from the rest of the Morea and placed them under his own jurisdiction as capitan-pasha, appointing one of their chief men, Zanet Koutouphares, their governor with the title of Bey, and making him responsible for the collection of the tribute. The first of the series of eight Turkish Beys of Maina was soon condemned to death; Mavrogenes obtained the appointment of another Mainate, Troupakes, as his successor; and, during a cruise of the Turkish fleet in the Mainate ports, Hassan

[1] Pp. 21, 357 (ed. Buchon).

invited the local notables on board to dinner and informed them that they must recognize the authority of the Sultan and that, if they wished to consult their compatriots, they must leave their children as hostages. Mavrogenes, although not a Phanariote by birth, was rewarded by being made *Hospodar* of Wallachia, but paid for his promotion with his head. His career is variously judged by Greek and Roumanian writers, but at Nauplia and in the capital of his native island several fountains, besides inscriptions in the famous Church of the Hundred Gates, still preserve his memory.[1] Doubtless owing to his influence, the Nauplian Christians, whose numbers had greatly dwindled since the Turkish reconquest, were allowed for the first time since 1715 to hold religious services inside the town. For such was the arrogance of the local Turks that the Pasha of the Morea had been compelled to move the capital in 1770, and definitely in 1786, to Tripolitsa, where it remained till 1821. In Pouqueville's time, although theoretically the Pasha's seat during his year of office was still supposed to be Nauplia, the primates always met him with a present of 150,000 piastres as a bribe to fix it at Tripolitsa, because the latter, being an open town, was less likely to be converted into a strong position. The Pasha

[1] *Voyage de Dimo et Nicolo Stéphanopoli en Grèce pendant les années* 1797 *et* 1798, i., 194; Blancard, i., *passim*.

was never known to refuse this inducement, which was not, therefore, as the cant phrase described it, "lost money."[1]

Hassan had restored peace to the Morea; but, if it was peaceful, it was a wilderness. "The Porte," wrote the Prussian Minister in 1778, "sends orders to all its Governments to do exact justice to all its *rayah* and to treat them with humanity," and this was doubtless politic. Russia, too, in Article 8 of the Convention of Ainali Kavak of 1779, made the Porte promise to indemnify the Moreotes by the gift of other lands or proportionate advantages, instead of restoring their lands and other property, which had been confiscated for the use of mosques and other religious foundations. But when Hassan took a census of the Morea, he found the population reduced below 100,000, and, as Maina was no longer included in it, he had to treble the capitation-tax. There had been an immense emigration during those nine terrible years since the Russian insurrection began. Many had gone to the Crimea, over 12,000 insular Greeks had settled in Istria, and it was calculated that the result of the movement of 1770 had been the death, slavery, or expatriation of over 80,000 persons. The plague

[1] Lamprynides, Ἡ Ναυπλία, 290, 304; Sathas, 494 *n.* (where a contemporary Tripolitan calls it in 1770 "seat of the governor"); Pouqueville, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, iii., 488; v. 2; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vi., 69, 73

of 1781-85 further diminished the Moreote population; but the French Revolution revived agriculture there, owing to the demand for grain for French use. Thus the population rose in 1798 to 240,000 Christians and 40,000 Turks.

The year that witnessed the signature of the Treaty of Kutchuk Kaïnardji saw a change for the worse in the government of Athens, for that *malikyané* was bought by the Sultan's sister, who presented it to her Asiatic lover, Hadji Ali, "the Haseki" (or "bodyguard"), and sent him thither as her *voivode*. Of all the Turkish governors of Athens he was the most tyrannical, and his tyranny was by far the longest, for his influence over his mistress and hers over her brother made it difficult to get rid of him. At first, indeed, he posed as the protector of the Greeks against the local Turks and of both against the intervention of the Pasha of Negroponte, and took care to make friends of "the Athenian aristocracy." Consequently, when he began to oppress the people, their natural leaders declined to act against him, and the principal householders, who formed the second class of the community, according to one account, took for the first time the bold step of denouncing him at Constantinople, without their knowledge but with the support of the Metropolitan, the abbots, and several prominent peasants. As his mistress longed to see her lover,

their complaints were heard, and for a brief space a just *voivode* from Chios governed Athens. The tyrant, however, with the aid of his friends among the Athenian notables, especially a certain Vlastos, and of the versatile Metropolitan Bartholomew (anxious for his support with his mistress at the next election for the Œcumenical Patriarch), came back as governor in 1777 with a bill for expenses and damages sustained by his previous removal, which the Athenians had to pay.

The great Albanian invasion of Attica in 1778 united for the moment governor and governed in the defence of the town. Hadji Ali marched out at the head of the Athenians to Chalandri seven miles away, and there completely routed the 600 Albanians in what would have been considered in classical times a great battle. Fearing, however, another and larger raid, he at once set to work to build a wall round the unfortified town. The work was not finished when news arrived that 6,000 Albanians were on their way to the Morea and might be expected at Athens. The Turkish population thereupon took refuge on the Akropolis, while Hadji Ali personally followed the Greeks across to Salamis, whither their ancestors had fled after Morosini's abandonment of Athens ninety years earlier. There they remained for thirteen days, when, after having paid blackmail for the Albanian leader's expenses in coming to

"protect" them, they thought it safe to return. Warned by this occurrence, Hadji Ali at once resumed with vigour the construction of his wall, setting an example by handing stones to the masons with his own hands. Such was the zeal of the inhabitants that the entire circuit of the wall was completed in 108 days, including the interruption caused by the flight to Salamis; indeed, one contemporary puts it at only 70. The wall began at the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, and passed by the theatre of Dionysos to the Arch of Hadrian ("the gate of the Princess," as it was then called after Aretousa, the daughter of the "King of Athens" in the Cretan poem *Erotókritos*). The lower portion of the arch was walled up, and this portion of the wall long remained untouched owing to the legend that it contained the treasures of "the Princess," and that whosoever laid sacrilegious hands upon it would be struck with lightning, until Queen Amalia ordered its destruction. Thence the wall followed the present avenue called after that Queen up to the square in front of the palace, whence it turned down what is now Stadion Street, where there was a broad and deep ditch, to the National Bank. It thence turned to the left as far as Liberty Square, passed outside the Theseion and by way of the Areopagos rejoined the Odeion of Herodes Atticus. It contained six gates: the "Albanian" (so called from

the adjacent population) near the present military hospital; the "Inland," more generally known as the "Boubounistra," from the "plashing" of the neighbouring spring, on the square before the palace; that "of the Holy Apostles" near the church of that name, or "of Menidi" (because that was the starting-point of the road to that village), in what is now Aiolos Street; that "of the Gipsies" in the Kerameikos (so called because the "gipsies" who worked as smiths lived there); the "Madravili" (the name of a local family), between the Theseion and the Pnyx; and the "Castle" or "Karababa" gate in front of the Akropolis, through which the Turks carried their dead to the Moslem cemetery. Guard-houses in the form of towers, vulgarly called *boúrtzia*, were erected near the gates. In his haste, Hadji Alí used fragments of the antiquities for his wall. Thus over the Boubounistra gate he placed the Latin inscription of Hadrian's aqueduct (now in the palace garden), as may be seen in one of Dodwell's[1] illustrations. He destroyed and used as building materials the old bridge over the Ilissos, St. Mary's-on-the-Rock which had served as a chapel of the Frankish dukes, and of which Stuart had fortunately left a sketch, besides part of the old monastery of St. Nikodemos, now renovated as the Russian church. The cost of these fortifications Had

[1] *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece.*

Ali exacted from the citizens, who soon found hat the wall was not only intended as a defence gainst the Albanians, but as a prison for themelves. With the powerful aid of Hassan Pasha nd Mavrogenes, the Metropolitan, who had once nore changed sides, succeeded in obtaining the yrant's deposition. But upon the Metropolitan's leath, his successor, Benedict, with many Turks nd Turkophils among the Greek notables, actually presented a memorial for his return. Accordingly, towards the end of 1782 Hadji Ali returned, only to act with greater tyranny than ever, even suppressing in prison one of his previous chief Turkish supporters. A large deputation then proceeded to Constantinople, and the farmers who were among its members took their ploughshares with them and dramatically threw them down before the Grand Vizier, asking him to give them another place in which to live, for Athens was unbearable. Hadji Ali escaped punishment, but, while retaining the *malikyané* of Athens, was forbidden to administer it personally on the spot. So much incensed against the primates who had favoured him was the Athenian democracy, that every citizen cast a stone with cries of "Anathema upon them!" in a heap before the gate of the Holy Apostles, just as the people of Patras and Nauplia had done in the case of those who had betrayed them in 1715 and as the Athenian royalists did in

that of M. Venizelos in 1916. A mass meeting then deposed the unpatriotic primates. For the first time the "elders" were elected from the second class of citizens, a leading Moslem was chosen as one of the "agents," and a public meeting declared that Athens should no longer be a close oligarchy. Thus, in 1785, liberal Turks and democratic Greeks were leagued together against the Turkish tyrant and the Greek aristocracy.

For two years Hadji Ali remained hidden in the palace of his mistress, powerless to overcome the formidable coalition which had been formed against him at Constantinople and Athens, where two local leaders, Belos and Bekir, had taken up arms to prevent the entrance of his emissary within his newly built wall. Thus his fortification of Athens was turned against himself, and a *voivode* hostile to him governed the town. Both parties resorted to bribery and intrigues; Hadji Ali obtained from the Patriarch the removal of the Metropolitan Benedict; the Athenian patriots persuaded Procopios Menas, then British consul at Athens, and Benedict bribed the dragoman of the British embassy at Constantinople to influence the ambassador against the new Metropolitan. The ambassador requested and obtained Benedict's recall—the first instance of British intervention in Athenian affairs. Meanwhile, the Athenians had gained another victory by the same methods—

the withdrawal of the *malikyané* from Hadji Ali and its bestowal upon the Governor of the Mint; the *silichtar*, or aide-de-camp, of their friend the capitan-pasha was sent as their governor. Their triumph seemed complete when, in 1788, their former tyrant's protectress died.

Hadji Ali knew, however, that the powerful admiral's weakness was money, and he worked upon it with such effect that he regained the *malikyané*. As soon as the news reached Athens, the oligarchical party returned to power, flung the two popular leaders into prison, and shut up the Metropolitan in his residence. In 1789 the tyrant himself returned and a reign of terror began; Belos and Bekir were hanged, and the body of a leading Moslem was suspended from the Frankish tower of the Akropolis; twenty-four prominent householders were placed before a row of sharpened and pointed stakes and told that, if they did not pay up, they would be impaled, while all the people were assembled in the Deka School and ordered to sign a collective promissory note for 400,000 piastres in money and oil. A visitation of famine and of the plague, such as recalled the account of Thucydides, increased the misery of the inhabitants; and the prisons were filled with those whom the plague had spared. Only the three "elders" and their friends, as supporters of the tyrant, were exempt from payment, and did not

scruple to buy up the property of their oppressed compatriots, thus showing, as travellers found, that Greek primates were sometimes "a kind of Christian Turks." Like vultures round a carcase, speculators came from other parts to purchase the oliveyards and houses, which the poor Athenians were forced to sell, in order to pay their shares of the promissory note. Even if a citizen managed to escape to some mountain cave under pretext of raising the money by picking his olives, his fellow-parishioners—for Athens was then divided into thirty-six parishes—had to pay his share. The shoemaker Skouzes has left a graphic account of these horrors, of which he was an eyewitness in his boyhood—of women tied to a pillar and flogged in prison, of a priest dragged in his vestments from church to gaol. For Hadji Ali spared no one from his exactions, and the monastery of Kaisariané was saved from his clutches only by the legal fiction of selling it to the metropolitan see of Athens, while that of "the Angels" obtained protection against him by becoming a *vakuf*, or property of a mosque. No private property was safe, for the tyrant would ask anyone to sell him his house or field, send his own valuers and either pay the amount of their low valuation, or, if the owner were a Christian, tender him in payment a receipt for his share in the public promissory note. The present Botanical Garden was part of the

property which he thus took and planted and watered with the forced labour of the Athenians, and which still preserves his name. There he built a tower with a drawbridge, while where is now the prison of the old barracks stood his town residence.

The Porte, preoccupied by the war against Russia and Austria, paid no heed to what occurred at Athens, while the complaints which reached the capital were described by the Athenian oligarchy as the malicious gossip of mischief-makers. But Hassan Pasha's former aide-de-camp chanced to be appointed Pasha of Negroponte; from time immemorial the holder of that office had sought every pretext for interfering in Athenian affairs, and the new Pasha had no reason to love the man whom he had formerly displaced. Accordingly, when application was made to him to recover a debt from the Athenian community, he gladly intervened by force. Hadji Ali resisted, and the Sultan, annoyed at this conflict between his officials, banished them both in 1792. Hadji Ali, however, found his way to the capital, whence he continued to send his representative as governor to Athens with orders to levy money as before. But his restless ambition led him to attempt the overthrow of the captain of the Sultan's bodyguard, of which he was a member, and resulted in his own exile to Chios. Even then he managed to make a brief reappearance at Athens; but at last, in 1795,

prompted by their compatriots at Constantinople, who saw that the moment was favourable, a deputation of Athenians, headed by Petrakes, the abbot of the Monastery of "the Angels," lodged a complaint against him. An attempt to poison the abbot in a cup of coffee failed; money was subscribed to influence the Turkish officials on the side of justice, and the three "elders" of the year, summoned to give an account of his stewardship, in vain laboured to defend their patron against the charges of their compatriots, who had found a powerful protector in a leading Turk. Hadji Ali was banished to Kos, and there assassinated, thus ending his twenty years' tyranny over Athens—perhaps the most unhappy period in its long history. His ill-gotten gains were not, however, restored to their owners, but escheated to the Sultan; his real property was put up to auction, and the city of Athens bought his town house as a residence for the governor. "Then," writes Skouzes, "Athens began to be happy and beautiful; every year there was an election of new primates, they began to found schools and the like." Politics and education are an excellent definition of happiness for a modern Greek.[1]

[1] Benizelos, Kalephornas, and P. Skouzes *apud* Philadelpheus, ii., 286-308, 322, 329-345; Kampouroglos, Μνημεῖα, i., 134-137, 313, 355-362, 375; ii., 76 (the tyrant's signature and seal), 297; iii., 166, 170, 246; Bartholdy, *Voyage en Grèce*, i., 226-230 (French tr.).

Despite the failure of the insurrection of 1770, the Empress Catherine continued her schemes for the partition of Turkey. In 1782 she wrote to the Emperor Joseph II., proposing the restoration of the Greek Empire under her grandson, the Grand Duke Constantine, with Constantinople as its capital, independent of Russia, which was, however, to receive one or two islands of the Archipelago to facilitate its trade. Joseph II., while raising no objections to these proposals, wished that the Morea, Crete, Cyprus, and the other islands of the Archipelago should be given to Venice as compensation for her Istrian and Dalmatian provinces, which he coveted. Catherine disapproved of this curtailment of the future Greek Empire, and went on with a Russian propaganda, of which her consuls in the Ionian Islands, specially chosen from leading Greek families, and the Greek pupils of the military school in Russia, were active agents. The Russo-Turkish War of 1787-92 naturally offered an opportunity for action. The Triestine Greeks fitted out a flotilla, with which Lambros Katsones, a Greek of Levadeia in the Russian service, raided the Ægean and made his flagship, the *Athens of the North*, the terror of the Turks, taking Kastellorrizon (the "Red Castle" of Latin times), bombarding Durazzo, defeating the Turkish fleet off Karpathos, and sustaining a defeat which was a moral victory in an engagement with the Turkish and Algerine

squadrons off the classic headland of Caphareus. A Greek mission went to Petrograd to ask for ammunition, accepted Constantine as Emperor, and was addressed by him in Greek. A grandiose plan for a general insurrection, beginning with the warlike Souliotes, was frustrated by the abandonment of Russia by her Austrian ally and the subsequent Peace of Jassy, which Russia concluded without consulting her Greek supporters. Katsones, on receiving orders from Russia, whose flag he had flown, replied that "if the Empress had made her peace, he had not made his," published a protest against this policy, and established himself at Porto Quaglio in Maina, whence he continued his raids with the aid of the elder Androutsos, famous for having blown up the lion of Chæroneia and for his defence of "the great monastery" of Hosios Loukas. But his raids were not limited to the Turks; his attack upon some French ships made the French cooperate with the Turkish navy against him as a pirate, and the Bey of Maina was ordered to deliver him up alive or dead. Warned by the Bey in time, Katsones escaped by sea direct to the Ionian Islands, and Androutsos cut his way thither through the Morea. The Porte thereupon demanded their extradition from the Venetian Republic, and the demand was supported by the French consul in the

Ionian Islands, Saint-Sauveur,[1] who has left an account of these proceedings. Androutsos was delivered up, and ended his adventurous career in prison at Constantinople. Katsones escaped to Parga and thence to Russia, where he ended his days. A Greek poem[2] was composed about him; he was compared to Themistokles and Androutsos to Xenophon; even his French critic acknowledges the courage and firmness which made of this illiterate seaman an ideal leader of such an enterprise. But the privateering of 1788-92 was the cause of as many horrors as the expedition of 1770. Only it had been proved that the Greeks were a match for the Turks at sea: Katsones was the predecessor of Kanares.

The Treaty of Jassy expressly renewed that of Kutchuk Kaïnardji and the Convention of Ainali Kavak, and provided also that all the Christians of the Morea and the islands who had fallen into slavery should be released without ransom. Numbers of Greeks under the shelter of Russian consulates traded as Russian subjects, many became consuls themselves in order to gain commercial advantages, and some States, notably Prussia, were so careless in the choice of their representatives in Greek waters that Bartholdy found the Prussian vice-consul serving behind his

[1] *Voyage historique, littéraire et pittoresque*, ii., 287-311.
[2] Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, iii., 382-386.

chair at a dinner in the French consul's house! Paul of Patras was consul of eight nations, and there were consular families, like the Athenian Logothetai, as in our day. As in our day, too, the Greek shipowners profited greatly by the fact that their own sovereign was neutral during the early years of the French Revolutionary War, which, by ending Venetian domination in the Ionian Islands and substituting for it French rule in 1797, closed a long chapter of Greek history, and made Bonaparte a factor in Greek affairs.

### Authorities

The best—indeed, the only exhaustive—works on the history of Turkish Athens during this period are Th. N. Philadelpheus' *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (1400-1800) (2 vols.; Athens, 1902), and D. Gr. Kampouroglos' *Μνημεῖα τῆς Ἱστορίας τῶν Ἀθηναίων* (a collection of documents) (3 vols.; Athens, 1890-92). For the history of Turkish Greece generally there are K. N. Sathas' *Τουρκοκρατουμένη Ἑλλάς* (Athens, 1869), and G. Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. v. (Oxford, 1877), and the author's articles in the *Westminster Review* for August and September, 1904, and *English Historical Review* for October, 1904, and July, 1920 (vols. xix. and xxxv.). Rulhières' *Histoire de l'anarchie de Pologne*, vol. iii.

(Paris, 1807) contains information about the Russian agitation of 1770, on which there is a Greek monograph by P. M. Kontogiannes, *Οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἐπὶ Αἰκατερίνης Β' ρωσσοτουρκικὸν πόλεμον* (1768–74) (Athens, 1908). Other authorities are cited in the footnotes.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY. By Carl Russell Fish, Ph.D., Professor of American History in the University of Wisconsin. 1s. net.

Stanford University Libraries
Stanford, California

Return this book on or before date due.

FEB 2 5 1973

MAY 1 4 1975

DEC - 4 1975

(Prices to follow.)

# TEXTS FOR STUDENT

1. SELECT PASSAGES from Josephus, Tacitus, Suetoni
Cassius. Illustrative of Christianity in the First C
Arranged by H. J. White, D.D. 3d. net.

2. SELECTIONS FROM MATTHEW PARIS. Arranged b
J. Sheet. 9d. net.

3. SELECTIONS FROM GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS. Arran
C. A. J. Sheet. 9d. net.

4. LIBRI SANCTI PATRICII. The Latin Writings of St. P
etc. Newport J. D. White, D.D. 6d. net.

5. A TRANSLATION OF THE LATIN WRITINGS OF ST. PA
By Newport J. D. White, D.D. 9d. net.

6. SELECTIONS FROM THE VULGATE. Arranged b
White, D.D. 9d. net.

7. THE EPISTLE OF ST. CLEMENT OF ROME. 8d. net.

8. SELECT EXTRACTS from Chronicles and Records
in English Towns in the Middle Ages. Edited by
Bearnshaw, M.A., LL.D. 9d. net.

9. THE INSCRIPTION ON THE STELE OF MESA, con
called the Moabite Stone. The Text in Moabite and
with translation by H. F. B. Compston, M.A. 9d.

10. THE EPISTLES OF ST. IGNATIUS. Edited by T. W.
D.D. 1s. net.

11. CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS. By H. P. V. Nunn, M.A
two Illustrations. 1s. net.

12. SELECTIONS FROM THE "HISTORIA RERUM ANG
OF WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH. 1s. 3d. net.

13. THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. B
T. W. Crafer, D.D. 4d. net.

14. THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS. Edited by T. W. Cra
6d. net.

15. THE CODE OF HAMMURABI. By Percy Handcoc
1s. net.

16. SELECTIONS FROM THE TELL EL-AMARNA LE
By Percy Handcock, M.A. 9d. net.

17. SELECT PASSAGES ILLUSTRATING COMMERCIA
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAN
RUSSIA. By A. Weiner, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. 1s. 6d. n

LONDON: S.P.C.K.

DATE DUE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| JUL 11 1977 | | | |
| | | | |
| OCT 18 1977 | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| JUN 14 1979 | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

Stanford University Libraries
Stanford, Ca.
94305